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MADRAS WAR REVIEW

A WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE WORLD WAR

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H.E. SIR ARTHUR HOPE, *Governor of Madras*
(A New Year message from His Excellency appears in this issue)

FOURTH New

H.E. SIR ARTHUR

His Excellency the Governor of Madras for the New Year issue of the

January 1st, 1943, will be the fourth New Year's Day of this world-wide war.

Looking back on the year 1942 we have every reason for sober confidence in our ultimate victory.

The year started with serious reverses. In the East, the loss of Malaya, the Philippines, and the Netherlands East Indies, followed by that of Burma, brought the war to the frontiers of India. In Russia, the Germans occupied the Don Valley and part of the Caucasus, and in Africa Rommel drove us back almost to Alexandria. But in the last few months the tale has been very different. The Germans have met with a decisive reverse at Stalingrad, and are left to face the rigours of a second winter in Russia. We have won a great victory in Egypt, smashing Rommel's army and driving him out of Cyrenaica also. At the same time American and British forces, now supported by the resurgent French, have gained possession of all West and North Africa except Tripoli and part of Tunisia, which may soon also be in our hands. In the East, the Japanese have suffered heavily in New Guinea and the Solomons, and their fleets have repeatedly met defeat.

These successes should not induce in us a feeling of complacence. As Mr. Churchill said, they are not the beginning of the end, but the end of the beginning—the end of eternal defensive fighting and the beginning of the Allied offensive. Let them rather spur us on to greater efforts to hasten our final victory.

Year of the WAR

HOPE'S MESSAGE

has kindly sent the following special message
MADRAS WAR REVIEW :—

Here in India much of our thought and energy has lately been diverted to combating the forces of disorder wilfully let loose upon the country by those who thereby do so ill a service to the cause of human liberty which they profess to admire. Had these forces not been promptly quelled, India would soon have fallen victim to Japanese invasion, and not only political liberties, but education, justice and personal freedom would have been ruthlessly crushed beneath the tyrant's heel, as they have been in Burma and Malaya, and as they will remain until our forces with ever gathering might come to liberate these countries once more.

Let it therefore be the duty of every patriotic citizen of this country to do all he can to quell riot and disorder wherever it may rear its ugly head, and to devote his energies to mobilizing the people whole-heartedly behind the war effort, that the cause of liberty may triumph and the curse of Nazi tyranny and Japanese aggression be abolished for ever.

Arthur Hope.

Governor of Madras.

WHITHER INDIA?

By Capt. G. T. B. HARVEY, Director of War Publicity

TO-DAY we look into a New Year, into a Piece of the Future. Crystal-gazers are probably finding the prospect of New Year itself rather opaque—" visibility poor," as our jargonesque communiqués put it. We pray leave here to consider 1943 rather as a Piece of the Future, a piece of India's future, pregnant with splendour undreamed of, or misery untold, according to her preparedness for that future. In doing so, we have the temerity to ignore the War except to assume that comparatively early in the future with which we are concerned the Allies will have won it. What we who live in India should attend to, and attend to now, is the winning of the peace. Our New Year message therefore is an ancient and classical one, " Gnothi seauton " for in India to-day the necessity for " Knowing ourselves " is rather painfully obvious.

THE perils of neglecting to classify and deal with the intellectual, social and economic problems arising from the last war have been terribly exemplified for Britons in the last three years. Will the policy of drift which served Britain so badly, do for post-war India ? We suggest that even as the war proceeds, this country sets out on a great journey. She *must* know where she is going, and war or no war, she must set about determining the direction and speed of the adventure which is upon her.

" Think, Man, Think ! "

HERE are some of the knots to be unravelled, some of the mines to be cleared :—

Rapid industrialization has provided a long list of evils in many a country before now. How can India avoid those evils ?

How does a Free India intend to orientate herself, internationally ?

A country's economic problems are, generally speaking, either agricultural or industrial. How are the widely conflicting interests of the classes so engaged to be resolved ?

More than a million Indians are now in military employment. This number will largely increase. Most of them will have to become civilians again. What is India going to do for the men who have preserved her safety and honour when she ceases to pay them to fight ?

SUCH are some of India's internal problems. There are plenty of others which, though more abstract, must affect the mentality and outlook of both Government and People in a Free India, e.g. :—

Is World Federation practicable, and if so, how is it to be achieved ?

We have with us the rump of the League of Nations. Millions of people want the League to be revived. How are we to set about it ?

We hate both the practice and the ideology of our enemy—the Axis Powers—while we are fighting them. What should be our attitude, or the attitude of the United Nations, towards Germany, Japan, Italy, Vichy France and the rest of Hitler's satellites after the war ?

Scientific inventions seem to be the arbiters of our destiny to-day. They have almost become the masters of men. How is mankind to regain control of the production of armaments and other lethal or destructive agencies and all that they aim at and imply ?

WE do not suggest that, until peace has been declared and life takes new shape, definite or final solutions can be devised for these problems, but the trouble is that once fighting ceases, they will descend with such rapidity on India and the world, that those whose minds have not been prepared in advance will inevitably find it beyond their power to contribute to their solution.

SOME may suggest that in our catalogue of problems we have omitted one which is nearest and most obvious, viz., the constitution of this country. We have deliberately done so. In the present atmosphere an impartial study of so highly controversial a subject seems well nigh impossible, so raw are tempers and so chaotic are party demands. That is why we have limited our thesis—being convinced of two fundamentals ; first, that when peace is declared, India will be free and independent ; secondly, that even if the legal details of that free and independent polity cannot at present be advantageously debated, all the other subjects we have mentioned, can.

Research Organization—A Design for the New Year

IN this submission we are inspired and upheld by the prescience and energy of the National War Front, that now great organization which gives daily proof of its devotion to this country's best interests, and its determination that these shall not be overlooked for want of public presentation. There is in course of erection in the capital, a Research Organization composed of Indians eminent in most of the technical aspects of the problems suggested above—in international law, in fiscal matters, in political economy, in sociological problems, in education and so on—which will have as its task the building up of a great Central Library from which to disseminate authoritative advice on the burning questions of the time to hundreds of Groups of thinkers, talkers and writers all over the country. These Groups are to be formed of men and women of intelligent patriotism who will themselves receive, debate and propagate specialised material on every subject on which they seek guidance. The idea is that in every centre in every province, where a group of people can be got together to see India big, to grasp the vision of India's potential mightiness, and to grapple with the puzzling and often distressing problems which must inevitably befall her (and to this end set aside all minor considerations arising from religion or caste or political affiliation), they should be able to call upon this Central Research Organization for the most up-to-date pronouncements, theses, books, blue-books, legal instruments, etc., etc., and even for trained visiting lecturers, without fee and without delay.

WE have not the space for details of this admirable design. All we do in this New Year Editorial is to commend it to the attention and encouragement of every thinking man who intends to continue to be " proud to be a citizen of India."

Resolutions

By The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. WADSWORTH

WE are not concerned now with the sort of resolutions bred by political conferences with their subjects committees, party intrigues, type-written eloquence and hot air. Something nearer the mark is the watch-night service with its midnight meditation on past shortcomings and its stern resolves not to repeat those errors in the coming year. Let us ignore, for the moment, the sneers of the cynic who reminds us that the path to hell is paved with good resolutions; for so is the path to heaven. It is good for a man, at the end of the year, to have a moral stock-taking and settlement of accounts, so that he may start the new year with a clean sheet and an honest resolve that there shall be no blots on the sheet in the next twelve months.

And what is good for the individual is salutary for the nation as a whole. For the moment, let us stop blaming each other for the things that have gone wrong, and let us show our national solidarity by reciting together that "we have done those things that we ought not to have done and have left undone those things that we ought to have done." And having made a common confession of error, let us make a common resolution to do better in 1943.

THE PAST YEAR

Heaven knows, there have been failures enough in 1942. The first nine months of the year seemed to be one continual series of reverses, military and political. Now that the magnitude of the loss caused by Japan's dastardly attack on Pearl Harbour is known, the reason for our military reverses in the East is not far to seek. They are almost entirely due to the loss of command of the Eastern seas; and as the process of regaining this command advances, so will the enemy be driven back on land. But the speed of this recovery will depend on the smooth working of the forces behind it and in this we can all help. Whatever we can do to maintain morale, to check the baneful activities of obstructionists and of their poor relations, the non-co-operators, whatsoever we can do to help recruitment and to keep up the enthusiasm of the men recruited, that we must do unceasingly.

One hears so many stories of young men anxious to join the forces, who are kept back by the dissuasions of over-fond mothers or over-anxious friends. The war for freedom cannot be won without taking risks, and those who are not prepared to do their part in the fight do not deserve to win the prize. Think of the crores of Chinese men and women who have suffered and died during these last five years rather than submit to a brutal and licentious invader. This is not the time to stay at home and save your skin; if you do so you are asking for your home to be bombed with all inside it. Our young men must go forward to meet the enemy and drive him from our borders, or we shall never have real peace or lasting liberty.

FAILURE AND FUTILE TALK

In the sphere of politics too, the year 1942 has been a year of common failure, unredeemed by the closing spell of success which has brightened the military outlook. There has been much futile and unedifying recrimination as to the causes of this failure. Each party is convinced that the other is solely to blame; no party seems able to put the common cause first or to surrender its sectional interests for the good of the nation as a whole.

This is not the place for political discussion; but it is both the time and the place to impress upon the people of India that a spirit of mutual mistrust and suspicion, of sectional selfishness and refusal to compromise, is calculated to imperil that considerable freedom which the people of this land already enjoy and to banish to a distant future those greater liberties to which we all aspire. Is it too much to hope that in 1943, realizing the deadly peril which threatens India along with all freedom-loving people, all parties will join together and resolve to do everything in their power to help the common cause of the freedom of the world? Surely it is unreasonable to say: "I will not help those who are fighting for the freedom of the world, unless and until I am given that precise degree of liberty and power which, in my personal opinion, is fitting for the community to which I belong."

MINORITIES AND LIBERTY

All liberties are the result of compromise. No constitution, except perhaps that of the fascist state, is entirely satisfactory to any one party. Party tyranny, sooner or later, becomes a personal dictatorship, with all the evils which have been so manifest in Germany and Italy. Minorities are entitled to liberty just as much as majorities, and no constitution which does not give them a reasonable degree of protection can afford any real guarantee of national freedom. The task of

evolving a satisfactory constitution for India is one of stupendous difficulty, even when approached in a spirit of the utmost goodwill. To evolve a satisfactory constitution in a spirit of hostility and mutual distrust is frankly impossible. It is therefore the duty of all men of goodwill, who love their country and the cause of humanity, to do everything within their power, during the coming year, to put an end to the spirit of rancour and faction which stultifies the efforts to those who seek India's good.

What a blessed day it would be for India if on New Year's day, men of all parties—princes and bureaucrats, Brahmans and outcastes, Congress and Muslim League—would meet together and solemnly vow before God that, from this day forth, they and the parties which they represent would support, with all their might, any proposal which was for the good of India as a whole, notwithstanding that it might adversely affect the party to which they belong.

It is, perhaps, too much to hope that the coming year will be unmarred by military setbacks or political failures. But we can at least resolve that, so far as we personally are concerned, there shall be no effort spared which can help the common cause. It is in the interests of humanity in general, and of India in particular, that Germany, Italy and Japan be utterly and speedily defeated and that the doctrine of hate and oppression by which they are inspired, be finally replaced by a saner political theory. When that final victory will come, we do not know; but that it will come sooner or later, we fervently believe.

WAR OF SURPRISES

This is a war of surprises which has confounded the prophets and wiseacres times without number. We may be nearer peace and victory than any of us realize; remember that in 1918 victory came with dramatic suddenness. On the other hand, we may well have to endure long months or years of toil and strife and blood and tears. But whether the fight be long or short, it has to be fought to a final and victorious conclusion.

In the absence of victory, the world is doomed. It is no good flirting with the notion that India can be free when the rest of the world is enslaved. India could never maintain her freedom in a world in which aggression had triumphed. The freedom of India postulates an ordered and civilized world. It could never exist in the midst of empires ruled by international gangsters. How long would India retain her liberties if Japan were rampant on the Irrawaddy and Germany victorious on the Euphrates?

INDIA'S HOPE

Whatever be your political views, if you love your country and desire for her a free and orderly existence, you must join forces with those who are fighting for the common ideals. You may not agree with all the views of Mr. Churchill, any more than Mr. Churchill agrees with all the views of Mr. Stalin. When thieves attack the flocks, all parties unite to drive them away. There can be no parties in the hour of common peril.

The only hope of India lies in the victory of the United Nations. For that hope every true Indian, whatever be his political or religious faith, must be prepared to fight, even unto death.

Tunisia: The Fighting French

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"The battle is being fought in Tunisia. A renowned French military chief, General Giraud, of whom I can testify that the Government of the Republic had deplored at the worst moments of the Battle of France that he could not be appointed the Generalissimo because he had fallen into the hands of the enemy, has begun to lead into battle part of the troops of North Africa. These troops have already obtained successes. Their comrades, who on land, at sea and in the air resumed the fight at different dates, acclaim their co-operation and their glory and desire that all those who bear the arms of France shall be merged, as they should be, in one army, one navy and one air force."

—General de GAULLE *in a broadcast on December 28, 1942.*

SYSIPHUS OF THE FAR EAST

—Special for *Madras War Review*

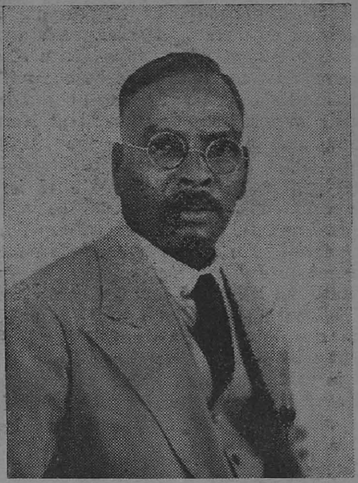
Out of the Dark

By Rao Bahadur M. C. RAJAH, M.L.A., *Regional Leader, National War Front*

ONE great change in the attitude of the people towards the War brought about by the National War Front Movement inaugurated by His Excellency the Viceroy a year ago, is the defeat of defeatism. Nobody now indulges in pessimism about the final outcome of the War. Nobody wallows in the Slough of Despond, not even the propagandists of fear.

A great difference, one must have noticed, in their respective approach to the War problem in India between Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Gandhi in their discussions about the position the Congress should adopt in regard to the War, was that all Nehru's thoughts about the War prospects ran towards the Allies winning the War; whereas Mr. Gandhi's thoughts went in the direction of the Japanese coming to India and occupying it. That was the time when the peril from Japan was most grave. The Congress formula which Mr. Gandhi devised, namely, "passive non-co-operation towards the enemy," apparently very peaceful and friendly towards the present Government, was based on the subtle implication that the Japanese would land in India; whereas Jawaharlal, a straightforward thinker that he was, had no doubt or misgiving about the ultimate victory of the Allies, comprising Russia, America, China, Britain and India, though at the time the fate of nations was hanging in the balance. In each case the wish was father to the thought. Mr. Gandhi thought that when the Japanese came to India he would have the opportunity of going forth, like another Pope Gregory, to meet the invaders at the gate, and applying his favourite mantram of conquering by peaceful methods, appeal to them to cease fighting and allow them peacefully to occupy the country, giving to him and the Congress the right to rule over the people under their sanction.

That all these hopes and calculations are being foiled is patent to every one who observes the trend of events and the developments of the War. Victory is no longer merely a matter of faith or hope, but a conviction based on facts, of friend and foe alike. This is partly due to the National War Front Movement which has succeeded in silencing those who were more or less openly gloating over the Axis successes and Allied reverses. No doubt President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill are never weary in telling that the way to victory is yet long and requiring the utmost exertion and sacrifice; but our arrival at the winning post is certain. The darkest hours of the night are passed. Light is glimmering in the eastern sky. The day is dawning. We are getting out of the dark.



RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH, M. L. A.

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke conceal'd,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets [making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the [light;
In front the Sun climbs slow, how [slowly!
But westward, look, the land is bright!

PROSPECT AT HOME

Such is the prospect of the War in the world at large, but what is the prospect at home in India? The advent of the Allied Forces in India and their operations from the Indian base in air and ocean and their readiness to fight on land, if necessary, is like a kind of insurance policy for keeping India safe from outward aggression. I am afraid we are not sufficiently appreciative of what is being done for the people by the military, both Indian and non-Indian—by the Indian soldiers in the Middle East and Northern Africa and by British and the American Forces stationed in India. What is being done by the Indian Soldiers abroad is well known and is becoming one of the brightest chapters in the history of the War. What is being done by the British and American soldiers stationed in India is not so well known at present, and it is good that their activities are not published while they are in progress, but when everything is done and finished, I am sure it will be seen that they have not been here in vain and that they are a great power, making for security and inspiring confidence and encouragement; friends in need and friends indeed.

We are fortunate in having at the head of affairs in this country two men like Lord Linlithgow and General Wavell who are watching developments every moment and directing and ordering operations in every department, civil and military, economic, industrial, political and administrative, which bear upon the efficiency of the organization for winning the war and ushering in a constructive peace. We are fortunate too in having in our Presidency Sir Arthur Hope as Governor, who with his well informed Advisers, is not only maintaining Law and Order, but organizing the popular will for winning the war by enlisting co-operation and support in every form of war work.

What will be the result of all this—of what is being done to win the war and of the sure victory in the end—on the life of the various communities which inhabit the country? I say various communities advisedly, because there is no use in speaking of all these communities as one. Much harm has been done in the past in postulating a unity such as does not exist. That there are several features in common between communities will not itself make them a united whole. The differences have also to be taken into account, and in practical life these differences tell, and form determining factors. This is specially so in the economic sphere. The fact that all men have stomachs does not mean that they have one common stomach, and that if one person eats, the hunger of all others is appeased. What is wanted in the country at present is not unity but harmony—not a superficial unity which could be advanced as an argument for wresting power from those who have wielded it on the whole with benefit for the people, but what is wanted and is wanting is *harmony* between the various communities which will secure their co-operation for common ends by securing for them justice and fair play in the

PARTY FOR TOMMIES

TWENTY-FOUR " other ranks " of the American Army Air Corps somewhere in Southern India decided it was time they saw fresh faces in the Mess.

A LITTLE while later British troops walking about in the town were invited to board a couple of lorries. They accepted, a bit hazy as to what it was all about —until they walked into the Americans' Mess to a wow of a surprise party !

HIGH TEA came first and then a football was produced. The efforts of the Tommies to teach the Doughboys Soccer and the Americans' efforts to impart ideas of their kind of football led to a sort of British-American rugby that was at least novel and vigorous.

AFTER this, hospitality reached a new height with the appearance of English bottled beer which, in turn, paved the way to a free-for-all sing-song.

WHEN the Tommies left they had already decided on a return party and another attempt to prove that Soccer is really the best game after all.

distribution of that power. Once this is secured, harmonious co-operation will follow which after long practice will result in what is called political unity.

FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY

The great question which weighs heavily on the minds of thoughtful persons in India at the present moment regarding the future of of the country is not whether the British are willing to part with power—that, they have said over and over again, they are not only willing but anxious to do, and only those who are badly in need of a political slogan will pretend not to believe it—but whether they will divest themselves of the responsibility which has gone with the possession of power towards the weaker communities, and hand them over to the tender mercies of the stronger, this weakness and the strength being in respect of cultivated intelligence and hereditary social power and prestige. There is a genuine fear in the minds of the Depressed Classes in India as to whether, when victory comes—as come it must and come it will—they will be treated justly and sympathetically as the British Government have hitherto been trying to do in spite of difficulties placed in their way by, and the silent opposition of, Caste Hindus, who will form the majority in any general electorate which may be set up. Past experience shows that without British supervision and overhead authority, these classes will not only be sadly neglected but subjected to various restrictions and difficulties in pursuance of the Caste Hindu policy initiated by Mr. Gandhi of absorbing them and depriving them of that political independence which is essential for their intellectual progress, social efficiency and economic prosperity. The serfdom of the past is being translated into social submission and may yet be converted into intellectual and political repression. It is the British Government who have helped us so far to come forward and hold up our heads against those who oppressed us for ages. Their democratic instincts and their sense of justice and fairplay, however much restrained and obstructed in their expression by economic and political considerations, have prompted them to do the best they could for these classes in the past and would not allow them, I venture to hope, to sacrifice their interests in the future exigencies of so-called "constitutional" warfare. It is easy to say that their care and concern for these classes is prompted by unwillingness to part with power, the assertion of which by political parties is inspired by an eagerness to grasp power without correspondingly sincere sense of justice and fairplay towards weak communities.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

What in these circumstances are the prospects of the Depressed Classes who form a large and important section of the population? The prospects are not altogether gloomy nor altogether bright. A great deal depends upon the attitude which the British Government will take towards the demand made by other communities in the name of National Independence. The Government are pledged to the granting of full self-government involving their divesting themselves not only of all power but of all responsibility for the administration of the country. Fortunately they insist that the transfer of power could take place only with the consent of large minority and backward communities.

The question is whether they would stick to this essential condition in face of the pressure of financially organized and skilfully manufactured public opinion in this country and abroad by persons who have for ages practised domination over the voiceless and suppressed communities. Will the Government quiver before the accusation of insincerity and unwillingness to part with power hurled at them from all quarters of the globe —from America and China, not to speak of England and India. Will they betray these victims of age-long oppression out of fear and a desire to stand well in the eye of people who do not know, or knowing wish to grasp power for themselves.

MADRAS BOMBER SQUADRON

His Excellency the Governor of Madras has received the following message from the Commanding Officer, Madras Bomber Squadron :—

"All ranks wish me to convey our appreciation of Your Excellency's message of greetings and good wishes which we heartily reciprocate. We are firm in our confidence that the coming year will see that day in sight when we may all join in celebration of freedom from strife."

Two dangers lie ahead of the Depressed Classes. Both arise from ignorance—from two kinds of ignorance. One danger is from the ignorance of well-meaning idealists in the West and the other is from the ignorance and illiteracy of caste-ridden and priest-ridden people in the country who will constitute the Hindu majority in any general electorate. Caste is not an institution which has merely divided the people into numerous sections, each enclosed by walls of custom and superstition, but it has arranged them, tier over tier, in degrees of superiority and inferiority, inculcating an exclusiveness which breeds undue partiality on one hand and unjust prejudice on the other, and which is responsible for keeping down the so-called untouchable classes for centuries past. If those well meaning and ill-informed friends of India in America wish to do good to the people of the country, they would do well to depute a batch of competent detached social thinkers who would investigate the social attitudes and relations, objective and subjective, which prevail among the people of India, and which so powerfully influence their political actions and judgments. If President Roosevelt will send such a deputation who will spend sufficient time to move among the people and study social conditions existing in the country to-day and the disabilities under which the backward communities suffer, he will have taken the first step towards laying the foundation of a social and political structure which will endure for generations.

WHAT Mr. CHURCHILL SAID

Mr. Churchill speaking of the sufferings of the people overrun by Hitler in Europe states as the symbolism and message of the Atlantic meeting between him and President Roosevelt, "The tunnel may be dark and long but in the end there is light." The Depressed Classes of India have all along been dragging on in a long and dark tunnel with openings towards the sky only in certain periods of India's history, e.g., in the days of Buddha and Asoka, of Ramanuja, of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chandra Sen and Ranade and Dr. T. M. Nair and in the days immediately following the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. It looked as if the Reforms Act of 1935 giving them separate electorate opened up the sky for them, but the Poona Pact to which they unsuspectingly gave their consent, shut them up in a political prison from which they have not yet emerged. It is their fond hope now that the Victory of the Allies will bring about conditions which will not only emancipate them from the thraldom of ages and thwart the attempts of those who wish to keep them in social and political subjection to them but release forces of freedom which will ensure their independence.

People talk of independence as if it is only for national groups and not as regards their relation to one another. They do not like to think of it as applying to the relation of communities towards one another; an independence which lends itself to cheerful inter-communal co-operation but cuts across the domination of one community over another and the subjection of weaker by stronger communities. There is such a thing as communal exploitation leading to communal slavery and serfdom. It is to be hoped that these things will go so far as the Depressed Classes at least are concerned. It should be remembered that so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned the Depressed Classes have supplied the largest number of soldiers to the Army and that these men have done distinguished service in the war fields of Middle East and Northern Africa. It will be an ill-return for their self-sacrificing patriotism if on coming back from war front they find their position and that of their community which has sent them is not better than when they went forth ready to lay down their lives if need be in the cause of Freedom and Righteousness.

If the politicians are to have their way, these fighting men will be nowhere in the body politic. It is the duty of the British Government before they part with power to see that the saviours of the country from the aggressors, including Depressed Classes, are not subjected to the dictatorship of those who have stayed at home indulging in cynicism and discounting their services to the country. The Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, though they owe their enunciation to a particular juncture in the war, are no doubt intended to be applied to all communities and all peoples. Their application should not be confined to nations but should penetrate into the social life of the people of all countries. The Depressed Classes of India in particular need freedom from poverty, freedom from fear, freedom from domination and freedom from religious degradation.

It is their fervent prayer that these four freedoms should be realised in the social life of the people of India.

CHINA—The New Year

"China is facing the New Year with the brightest future, militarily, politically and economically, but nevertheless with the hope that an Allied counter-offensive will be launched in the Far East soon."

Dr. K. C. WOO, *Political Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs at a Press Conference in Chungking on December 29.*

Indian Youth and the New Year

By Sir MEVEREL STATHAM, C.I.E., I.E.S., *Director of Public Instruction, Madras*

I most sincerely wish the Indian youth of this Province, boys and girls, safety, prosperity and happiness in the coming year. It has been my privilege to spend more than half of my service in daily and intimate contact with the youth of this Province and I think that I can legitimately claim to know something of the outlook, ambitions and the difficulties of Indian young men and women. The war, which has now reached the shores of India, has naturally affected, along with all other members of the community, the Indian youth of this Province. During the year 1942, in particular, those young men and women who were under training for future careers have felt the strain and uncertainty of war time conditions. The war, however brutal and destructive it has been, has, in many ways both temporarily and permanently, considerably altered the problems with which young men and women are normally faced. The war effort has come very near to the youth of this Province and the call for assistance in the shape of man power, monetary help and the upkeep of public morale has been answered by the young men and young women of this Province in the most stirring manner. We can and should be proud in the Madras Presidency of this response to the Nation's call. I think it is probably true to say that this Province has, in recent centuries, experienced much less of the horrors of war, both internal and external, than the more northernly Provinces of India and yet, in many ways, recruitment to all forms of war and Civil Defence work, financial support and many other types of assistance to the war effort have generally been as good as and in some cases better than similar efforts in other Provinces. I need not give details of recruitment, etc., since they have been published officially from time to time. But it is well known that the response has been good and has in many cases, I understand, been only limited by the needs of equipping and training all those who have come forward to offer their services. This response has by no means been confined to what are commonly called the 'martial classes.' Thousands of families who have never experienced service in the fighting forces or subsidiary services have sent their young men, and even their young women, to help to defend their country and to serve in what may be regarded, in many cases as a new and dangerous type of occupation. During my extensive touring of this Province I have learned with the highest admiration of how many young men, who would normally have

SIR MEVEREL STATHAM, C.I.E., I.E.S.

entered the professions, done clerical or teaching work, etc., have in the last three years volunteered for active service. My profession, the teaching profession, which might perhaps be the last to be expected to contribute largely to active service, has contributed extremely well to the services. Amongst the war technicians, for example, of which this Province has been training the largest numbers of any Province or area in India, a very large number of school teachers and of those who would normally have gone for teachers' training are to be found in war technician training centres. Again, the schools of this Province have sent large numbers of students to be trained for the Indian Merchant Service and the Indian Navy. There is also scarcely a college which has not a proud record of the number of its students who have joined the Army and the Air Force. I believe also that there has been no paucity of applications for the Civil Defence and Nursing Services. My own department has usually been considered to be more mighty with the pen than with the sword; but as head of the department I see no reason why I should not publicly announce my pride in the fact that out of approximately 3,800 subordinates (men and women), over 1,100 have as many as 2,300 close relations who

have joined the fighting services or the subsidiary services. These figures include over 1,000 in the Army, 120 in the Navy and 130 in the Air Force. No longer I think can it be said that the teaching profession as such is afraid of playing its part in the defence of its country. Even in the National War Front movement, after only a short campaign in a limited number of districts in this Province, I and my subordinates have enrolled up to date over 130,000 teachers and students. I regard this willingness on the part of teachers and students to take the National War Front pledge and abide by it as extremely significant of the attitude taken by the youth of the country towards the war.

HIGH MORALE OF STUDENTS

We have every right to be proud of the youth of this Province from another point of view. During 1942, Madras City and a number of other places, such as Vizagapatam, Cocanada and Cochin have experienced the difficulties consequent on evacuation and war scare. I am fortunately in the position of being able personally to bear testimony to the high morale of the students during many difficult months after January of this year. Nobody, I think, can escape the significance of the following facts. At Vizagapatam, where for various reasons the war scare was perhaps greatest, the girl students in the VI Form of the Government High School for Girls, a school situated right on the edge of the harbour, all sat for their S.S.L.C. Public Examination and all passed and became eligible for college study. This was the only Government High School in the Presidency to obtain a 100 per cent passes. Even after Vizagapatam and Cocanada had been bombed, all the students who had to sit for the Government Technical Examinations were asked whether they would like to take their examinations at mufassal centres and 75 per cent of the candidates elected to be examined at Vizagapatam and Cocanada themselves. All the S.S.L.C. candidates from Madras City were similarly asked if they would like to be examined at mufassal centres and over 75 per cent elected to be examined at Madras itself. The public knows that there was a natural anxiety with regard to the reopening of the colleges and schools in Madras in June and July this year. But in spite of that necessary and proper anxiety, the three women's colleges in Madras City had a larger enrolment on reopening than ever before and there was very little fall in the number of applications for admission to the men's colleges. At the Engineering College, Guindy, a college which is now working almost throughout the year, the rush for admissions, as far back as May, was unprecedented. It is all to the credit of the youth of Madras that the student population has so far stood up so well to the strain and anxiety in regard to the possibility of invasion and bombardment. Even in regard to the War Fund the student population, which on the whole is very poor, has played its part. The Education department had collected by March 1942 Rs. 2·3 lakhs for the War Fund, most of which money was contributed or collected by the youth of this Province, including a sum of over Rs. 31,000 collected from college students.

ADVANTAGES TO INDIA

While the war has undoubtedly caused strain and suffering in India, there have fortunately been distinct advantages to India coming in the train of the war. These advantages will, I sincerely hope, be still further available in the coming year. It is the youth of the Province which has been making the most use of these advantages. Unemployment amongst young men has been very considerably reduced. Some of the new avenues of employment are obviously temporary, due to war conditions, but even these temporary avenues of employment have enabled young men to have a radically new outlook on employment and the type of work which they are willing to seek for. For example, the needs of war time industry and of war technicians training have obviously already permanently changed the attitude of almost all those who were not hitherto willing to consider artisan employment and manual labour of any type as form of careers for educated youths. On the other hand, the war has brought definitely many new and permanent openings for the young men of this Presidency. The Indian Army, the Indian Navy, the Indian Air Force and all the subsidiary activities of the fighting services will unquestionably continue after the war and provide avenues of employment, careers and adventures which were largely missing, particularly in South India, hitherto. Even the work of the security services, A.R.P., First Aid, etc., has given a big new incentive to what after the war may well be called social and civic services. The war has also given a tremendous impetus to the industrial development of India and I am sure that there are few people in India who do not believe that this industrial development will be of a permanent nature and will give ever-increasing opportunities to the youth of this country. War conditions in India have been responsible for the local production in India of innumerable manufactured articles which had hitherto been only or mainly imported from abroad. There are very few trades in India which have not been permanently affected by this development. To the older generation, who have experienced, particularly in my Department, the acute difficulties of finding suitable openings for young men and young women, the present conditions and future prospects are infinitely better than they have been for many years in the past.

SPIRIT OF SELF-DEFENCE

But the youth of South India has also been affected in an entirely different manner. We do not want the youth of this country to imbibe the Nazi spirit of brutal militarism and army domination but we do want and have always wanted the youth of this country to be imbued with the spirit of self-defence and the defence of their own country. In this sense the expansion of India's power to defend herself and the rapid and huge development of the Indian fighting forces are much to be welcomed and the Indian youth has demonstrated, by sending hundreds of thousands of young men to the fighting services, that this spirit is already a big force in the life and future of this country. No one believes more strongly than the fighting man that war is brutal and horrible; but out of evil there cometh good and no young Indian man or woman can serve in and go through a long and disastrous war without gaining the spirit of courage, endurance and self-sacrifice and these are characteristics which can endure after war into peace. I am not, for a moment, suggesting that these qualities were not with Indian youth even before the war, but obviously these qualities have become more prominent owing to the courage and self-sacrifice which the war has demanded.

It should not, I think, be forgotten that in considering the position of Indian youth in war time and in the future, the part that young women have played and will play in future has been and is of immense importance. The women of India have always possessed to the full the spirit of endurance and self-sacrifice, but the war has necessarily added enormously to the need for endurance and self-sacrifice amongst the women who have sent their husbands, their sons and their brothers out in the defence of India. I am confident however that these sacrifices will not be without avail in the years to come. I may perhaps be forgiven in quoting in this connection from a speech of my own delivered to the Women's Educational Conference held in Madras in October 1941 in which I stated, what I most sincerely believe, that "The modesty, unselfishness and self-sacrifice of the women of India are historic and when to those qualities the quality of an educated outlook is also added I am convinced that many of our problems in India, far outside the educational sphere, will be solved and happily solved."

Perhaps, however, the greatest benefit that youth is enjoying at the present time, and will, I believe, enjoy in future, comes from the spirit of comradeship and unity which can sometimes only be achieved by common perils and common sufferings.

MANY PROBLEMS TO FACE

There will obviously be many problems to face in 1943 and afterwards, even if final victory comes during 1943 itself, as well it may, but I think we can confidently go forward in the hope and the belief that on the whole the prospects of the youth of our Province for the future are bright and the possibilities great. As I have been trying to show, it is an ill-wind which blows nobody any good. Whether in peace time or in war time, I have been striving to get under instruction all the boys and girls of all communities in this Province and I am quite sure that after the war large classes of parents, who hitherto have been difficult to persuade as to the advantages of universal education, will have an entirely new outlook on the value of education. We do not have to go outside India for a proof of the basis for this confidence. After the last war there was an immense and rapid progress in education in the Punjab, particularly in rural areas, and this was directly traceable to the return to the Punjab, with a fresh outlook, of hundreds of thousands of war-scarred warriors to whom education and the openings to be reached through education meant something quite different to what it did in the past.

All those who are interested, and they are many, in the welfare and happiness of the youths of this country will, I am sure, join me in offering to the young men and young women of this Province all good wishes for 1943.

Victory and Democracy

Victory in war is essential to our life as a nation and as free individuals, and every effort from every man and woman in the country is required for its achievement. Nevertheless, our future depends also upon our democratic system which operates through Parliament, and people who believe in the same principles and have the same objects in view must co-operate to achieve their purpose.

—MR. CHURCHILL, *in a message to the Scottish Unionist Association Conference.*

A Critical Year for War Charities

By Mrs. G. G. ARMSTRONG, *Hony. Secretary, Joint War Charities Committee*

SOME people have objected to the term "War Charities," on the ground that what we are able to do for our defenders, whether in the way of supplies to hospitals or amenities for the fighting forces, or of contributions towards supplies for prisoners of war or towards the maintenance of the families of those killed in action, are not "charities" at all, and that it is the right of those who are fighting for us to expect that we as civilians shall do our utmost for them in all these ways. Of course, it is; but still these are all "charity" in the proper sense of the word, which really means love and affection, not a condescending distribution of alms, a bad corruption of the true meaning. We need an omnibus term to cover all the many ways in which we may show affection and gratitude and sympathy for those fighting in the war and those injured by it, as distinct from those other contributions towards planes and armour for winning the war; and it is difficult to think of a better and more comprehensive term than War Charities.

But the very fact that our support for War Charities springs from affection and sympathy for those on whom the burden of the war has fallen more heavily than on ourselves, may mean that 1943 is going to be a critical year for such charities. We are all human, and so much of our sympathy depends on our imagination being roused; and when it is roused, it so very easily goes to sleep again. At the beginning of the war, there was a great desire to help, but no one quite knew what to do about it; nothing very much seemed to happen, but the desire to give what personal service was possible led to the formation of a great many working parties to make hospital supplies and knit warm garments, in preparation for no one quite knew what. Some people grew discouraged by the long time which elapsed before there appeared to be any definite object for this work; many gave it up and said they would not go on working at things which just went into stocks; but those who went steadily on without wanting to see immediate results, have been triumphantly justified. Without the steady work of all those months, which made so little appeal to the imagination, we could never have been ready, when the war did suddenly come to our very doorstep, with large stocks of hospital linen all ready for distribution where they were needed.

REAL TEST OF CHARITY

There was another appeal to the imagination in the Christmas Gifts Schme at the end of 1941, for gifts to our troops overseas; the appeal was sent out all over the Presidency and the response was excellent. But here again, the real test of charity comes when a single isolated appeal to the imagination has got to settle down to regular everyday work. Ever since April 1942 the troops have been with us; our defenders are here, in the Presidency itself, ready to fight for us either here or overseas, as the need may be, and having a very uncomfortable time of it while they are here. A burst of Christmas charity, just when we feel worked up to it, will not do; it is our business, as His Excellency said in his appeal for the Amenities for Troops Fund, to make things as little uncomfortable for them as may be, and this is a full-time job. They want canteen supplies, not just when our sympathies are touched, but all the time, even when we don't feel much like it; they want games and recreation; they want hospital supplies. Thanks to those steady workers who kept on at the job even when nothing much seemed to be happening, we have got ample supplies of hospital linen to last for a very long time to come, even in case of demands very much greater than anything we have ever had; but hospitals want a good many other things besides linen, and money is needed to pay for these.

There is an immense fund of sympathy and help in this Province, as is shown by the generous response to every individual appeal. The liberal support given to the Madras Ambulance Fund, the Lord Mayor's Air Raid Relief Fund, the Christmas Gifts Fund, shows what generosity there is; but all such appeals go well for a time and then die down. Yet it would be a desperate thing for us if the troops fought for us with enthusiasm for a few months, or for two or three days a week, and then got tired of it and lost interest. And can we say to the prisoners of war, and the air-raid victims all over the world, "Well, I was extremely sorry and anxious to help you for a time, but I really can't keep on remembering about you indefinitely"? Yet it is more than ever necessary that we should keep on remembering in 1943, because in addition to the troops now here in the Madras Presidency, and the Madrassi Units serving overseas and in other parts of India, whose needs are being supplied as far as possible by the Amenities for Troops Fund, we are also responsible for doing all in our power to help that quarter of a million civil and military prisoners of war in Japanese hands in the Far East. For so long there has been nothing we could do for them, but now there is something. Cargoes of bulk medical stores and foodstuffs are being sent by the Indian Red Cross to Lourenco Marques for transmission by the

Exchange ships to the Far East for the prisoners there. News was received in November that a number of these prisoners were being transferred from the tropics to the colder North, and at once arrangements were made to ship 20,000 sets of warm clothing for them. Individual parcels to prisoners in the Far East cannot be sent, but we can all help to provide these cargoes of mercy. One gift for this purpose is a great thing; but steady support is much greater, since the prisoners' need is always there.

IMPULSE TO GENEROSITY

The question of publicity for War Charities work is always difficult. It is most natural that people should want to know what is being done with the money and they have every right to know this. It is natural, too, that the impulse to generosity should largely depend on the imagination being stirred by detailed descriptions of the need for help among the sick and wounded, the prisoners of war, the air-raid victims, the soldiers and sailors and airmen leading tedious and uncomfortable lives while they wait here in our defence or go to attack the enemy. Yet to convey such information fully to every one takes a very great deal of paper, and that is very scarce nowadays; space in the newspapers is so limited that it is impossible to publish everything; broadcasts reach only a limited number of people. Also all the writing takes so much time, and the number of regular full-time workers is so small, compared with the work that has to be done. The response to last year's appeal for Christmas presents for the troops was magnificent, very largely owing to the immense amount of work which was done in sending out individual letters of appeal all over the Presidency. This year it was impossible to send out such letters, owing partly to the severe shortage of paper, partly to the fact that most of those who worked so hard at it last year have been fully occupied elsewhere; and the response has consequently been very much less. Publicity is going to get more and more difficult, and the work for the prisoners, the war victims and the troops is going to depend more and more on the steady support of those who remember that such work is being done all the time, and give it their continual help. One very excellent scheme has been started in this Presidency, an "Anna a Week Fund" for Amenities for Troops. Some of us can afford more than an anna a week; some of us would like to help prisoners, or other war sufferers; but the idea that as the work must needs go on all the time, so the support should go on all the time too, is most admirable. Some people who are anxious to help but are obliged to live at a distance from the centres where the work has to be done, have regretted that there is nothing they can do. There is much, if they would organize regular help on these lines, however small, and would undertake to spread as far as they can the information given to them about what is being done, so as to give it the widest possible publicity, this would go very far indeed towards making 1943 a less critical year for the War Charities work, which has grown so immensely here in 1942, and is going to grow much more.

MRS. G. G. ARMSTRONG

DOES HITLER KNOW?

"The man who imagines that God has been at particular pains to select him as His Mouthpiece on earth soon discovers that he has been the instrument of Satan."

—JACOB WASSERMANN in *Adam Urbas.*

DOES Mr. GANDHI KNOW?

Outlook for International Law

By The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. A. BELL, I.C.S.

IT may seem a somewhat hopeless task, the consideration of the future of international law, in these days of widespread and bitter international strife and conscious as we must be of the presence of many lawless elements in our very midst; but, nevertheless, to those who are firm in their belief that better and more honourable days are not far ahead a brief survey may not be without its use when the time comes for " winning the peace."

First of all, is International Law international law at all? It has been variously defined as the law governing the relations and intercourse of states with one another. States, not nations, it will be observed. And then, is it " law "? Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England, said : " Strictly speaking, international law is an inexact expression, and it is apt to mislead if its inexactness is not kept in mind. Law implies a lawgiver and a tribunal capable of enforcing it and coercing its transgressors, but there is no common lawgiver to sovereign states and no tribunal has the power to bind them by decrees or coerce them if they transgress. The law of nations is that collection of usages which civilized states have agreed to observe in their dealings with one another." This view is probably due to the influence of the great Austin who in " The Province of Jurisprudence Determined ", (1861) said that the law obtaining between nations is only law set by general opinion, with duties which are only enforced by moral sanction or by fear on the part of nations or on the part of a sovereign of provoking general hostility or even war in case they should violate maxims generally respected.

SANCTITY OF TREATIES

Much had been accomplished in the way of broadening these views by the outbreak of the last Great War in 1914. So far back as 1871, when the negotiations for the Treaty of London were being conducted by the representatives of Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany and Turkey and concerning the Black Sea, a resolution was agreed on the sanctity of treaties that " no power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor nullify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting powers by means of an amicable arrangement." And when, in 1908, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina without obtaining the consent of the high contracting powers who, under the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, had allowed her to occupy temporarily the provinces so annexed, she answered their protests

OUR WAR AIMS

" Our first aim is the destruction of the Hitlerite State and of the men who inspire it.

" Our second aim is to destroy the Hitlerite army and wipe out its leaders.

" Our third aim is to destroy this New Order in Europe and punish its builders.

" Comrades, we are waging a great war of liberation, but we are not waging it alone. We are fighting together with our Allies. It is going to bring us Victory over the dastard enemies of mankind, over the German and Facist Imperialists."

—M. STALIN, *in an Order of the Day.*

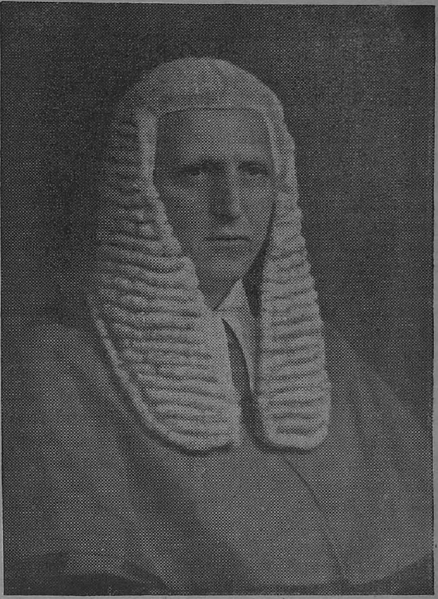
by saying that she had done nothing contrary to the law of nations, or affecting the sanctity of treaties, because the powers had given their tacit consent to the practical transformation of her temporary occupation into a permanent one. There was therefore prior to the Great War of 1914 much of lip-service, at any rate, to the great ideal that states and nations are bound to deal fairly with one another and to keep promises which have been solemnly confirmed.

It is not without interest that the conception that rules of conduct are necessary between states as well as between individuals can be traced to Italy and the ages when the Italian City States fought and traded and intrigued with one another. Then began the passport system, the distinction between armed forces and civilians and the development of rules for shipping in time of peace as well as war. The horrors of the Thirty Years War in Northern Europe reminded men that in Italy more humane practices were in vogue, and that it was quite possible to have an effective war without injuring innocent civilians, killing or ill-treating wounded or allowing the soldiery to ravage wantonly the countryside in which they fought.

GROTIUS AND OTHERS

The great Grotius in his work *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625), put the matter beyond further argument to the contrary. His masterly and exhaustive analysis of the rules which humanity required to govern international relations both in war and peace has remained the chief guide for succeeding ages. It has been said that nobody has since brought to light any new conception of the foundations of international law. Other great names have illumined the subject. Another Dutchman, Bynkershock (1673–1743), a practical lawyer as well as jurist, wrote that a state's dominion sea-wards was limited to the extent to which it was possible to enforce it, i.e., within range of cannon shot, and so prepared the way for the doctrine of territorial waters. Vattel's *Droit des gens* (1758) is still an authority on the principles of international law. Great English judges such as Lord Mansfield and Sir William Scott (who dealt with many shipping cases arising out of the long Napoleonic wars), the American Chief Justice Marshall and others have all played an important part in raising the study and the application of those principles to the high standard which had been reached by 1914.

The Hague Conferences appeared to crown the work. By 1899 rules on the usages of war had been drafted and agreed by all the great powers. The Geneva Convention which regulated such matters as the treatment of



THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE J. A. BELL, I.C.S.

wounded, of prisoners of war and the making of war on civilians had been applied to wars at sea. A Court of Arbitration was set up at the Hague to deal with international disputes. In 1907 the nations went still further on the path of good sense and humanity. Rules were made with regard to the opening of hostilities, the conversion of merchant vessels into warships, the rights and duties of neutral states, the laying of mines, the bombardment of undefended places by naval forces and the use of poison gas as a weapon.

But that is not to say that there did not exist persons who felt that despite all the formalities of solemn agreements, conferences, protocols and all the modern jargon of diplomacy, there still existed those who would like to avail themselves of—

" . . the good old rule,
. . the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power
And they should keep who can ".

GERMANY'S BEHAVIOUR

They proved to be right. In the years from 1914 to 1918, Germany, who had been a signatory to most if not all of the agreements of the previous years, broke all of them. All that counted with the Germans was victory at any cost and by any means. They invaded Belgium, whose integrity they had guaranteed,

they bombarded undefended places with their naval forces, they used gas as a weapon, they torpedoed hospital ships and bombed hospitals, they used prisoners-of-war for military purposes and ill-treated them and they sacked and ravaged the countries they occupied.

The clock had been put back. The Great War proved no less barbarous and inhumane than the Thirty Years War whose horrors had so profoundly influenced Grotius and his successors. Peace gave rise to a conflict hardly less important, namely, the struggle between those who desired to make International Law real "Law" in the sense before indicated, to provide it with a tribunal and with powers to coerce and therefore with armed forces under its control or at its call, and those to whom all idea of force had become anathema. The pacifists by which name the latter came to be known, triumphed in the main and from the Treaty of Versailles there was a steady declension in the ranks of those who insisted upon enforcement of the law if it was to be called a law at all. The chief principles, viz.—

(1) Recognition by all states of each other's existence and integrity as states,

(2) Recognition of each other's independence,

(3) Recognition of equality, one with another, of all independent states,

received much adulation but little practical support. The League of Nations did much good work in minor ways but the abstention of the United States in the beginning was a fatal weakness. The subsequent defections of Italy, Germany and Japan enfeebled it to the point of death and, looking back, one cannot wonder that those powers who were left, themselves self-disarmed beyond immediate remedy, found it impossible to prevent such obvious breaches of the law as the invasion of Abyssinia and Albania by Italy, and the wanton interference with the affairs of Spain by Germany, Italy and Russia and, then, the inevitable descent into Avernus which led us to the present war.

What of the future? Can we again trust to the promises of any nation, even of our own? Governments change, political passions will still run high, opinions will vary and there will always be the danger of alliances and *blocs* as a menace to world peace.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR

After the war, economic rather than political considerations will probably take first place. The lands now occupied by the enemy must be cleared of them and their starving populations fed, clothed and housed. Only the United Nations have any means at their disposal to attain these ends. They will have to continue their alliance to do so. May it not be hoped that, the relief accomplished, they will go on to seek for a further unity for political ends?

Imagine such a federation pledged and armed to secure world peace on sea and land, its navies keeping the seas free from pirates and its armies enforcing order where warring elements still contend. As time goes on, and economic recovery becomes more plain, then other nations may be admitted to the fold, until in the perhaps distant future there will exist the world federation to which the League of Nations seemed, in the minds of its creators, the first step.

But far more than words will be needed. It will be necessary for us all to surrender something. . . and something which to the Anglo-Saxon in particular has always been priceless . . . namely our free will. For if the seas and lands are to be kept safe from evildoers there must be a directing hand. All who belong to the federation must be ready and willing at all times to supply the weapons, the men and the munitions so that we must

AIR SLANG

AIR-WAR has produced its own set of slang terms of which we sample a few below. An air-raid is a form of *blitz* which results in children *vackies* (evacuees) and *browned* adults. *Mona* is the morning siren or *Wailing Winnie* and *Clara* is the bonny lass signalling the all-clear. Search-lights are *fire-works* and their diffused glare a *bearded lady*. The A.A. gun is *ack-ack*, an enemy plane is *Jerry*, the balloon, *rat-trap*; the A.A. barrage, *flying-elephant* and aerial torpedoes *flying-pigs*. German bombers when they release bombs *lay eggs*, while the R.A.F. returning after a raid *leaves visiting cards*. An *erk* is an aircraft-mechanic; *Op* is operator; *Wom* is the wireless operating man, and *Snoops*—the service Police. *Mets* is the meteorologist who knows all about *cu* (cumulus) and *muck* (dirty weather). We have *Spits* (spitfires), *Hurries* (Hurricanes), *Lizze* (Lysander), *Maggie* (Miles Magister) and *Wimpey* (Wellington); and last and not least "*He, Me* and *You*", the Heinkel, the Messercshmitt and the Junker.

envisage a portion of the British Navy being always ready to put out to sea with other navies, the control being exercised, not from the Admiralty, but from another centre, say, Geneva . . . it might be from any other place, of course, but, after all, considering that about a couple of million pounds was spent in erecting suitable buildings for the League of Nations there, it seems a pity that they should not be used!

In any event it is the mental attitude which is all-important, and if nations can be made, by reason, to see the necessity for sacrifice of part of their sovereignity, there may be hope that the errors of the past will be remedied and made, not only improbable, but impossible in the future. Like the labourers in the vineyard of the parable we may feel it unfair that we who have "borne the burden of the day and the heats" should be asked to put ourselves upon an equality with those who have "worked but one hour" or even less, but only in that way lies any hope of peace. Not again should the world watch, helpless, when aggression and greed and brutality raise their head, when small nations are devoured, minorities ill-treated, and treaties shamelessly broken before the ink of the signatures has hardly dried.

SANCTIONS

The history of the years since the last to the present war shows that just as sanctions are required for the law as it affects individuals, so they are necessary for international law. Sanctions imply a police force. There must be an international police force or one at any rate which is made up of contributions from the forces of the willing nations. There are no doubt no inconsiderable difficulties in the way and much persuasion will be needed before the majority of peoples will toe the line. But without that conception and the willingness to turn the dream into a reality the future will be as the past, international law will remain as it has been, a law only in name, to be observed when it is convenient, to be broken when it comes in the way of those who, as Mallet in his *Northern Antiquities* says "look upon war as a real act of justice and esteem it an incontestible title over the weak, a visible mark that God intended to subject them to the strong."

Is that the outlook for 1943 and for the years to come? The countless sacrifices which have been and are being made, the depth of misery into which the world has been plunged, this orgy of blood and hate and murder and destruction which alas! is so familiar, are all these things to be forgotten again because of—pride?

There is no reason why it should be so. A measure of humility in our dealings with our fellow men, a desire to seek out their point of view, an ability to apply rules, well-considered and agreed, to facts, and then the will and determination to enforce them will strengthen ourselves . . . no man is so strong or so inflexible as when he is convinced he is doing the right thing . . . give hope to those who have suffered unjustly, and usher in a new era in which international law will be known and respected—and obeyed.

Soldiers' Sons will follow Father

Boys of the three King George's Royal Indian Military Schools are themselves responsible for a standard of discipline which any soldiers would find difficult to beat.

Responsibility, particularly in the junior grades, passes hourly from boy to boy. One advantage of this is that it bars any possibility of victimisation.

The schools, run on the British public school model, were inaugurated by the late King George V and Queen Mary, who dedicated to this purpose a huge sum sent them by India's ruling Princes as a silver wedding gift.

The boys are soldiers' sons. They may study up to Matriculation and need not, necessarily, enter the army upon leaving. They are, however, almost unanimous in eagerness to join.

The National War Front Looks Forward

By Sir ROBERT DENNISTON, *Kt., Regional Leader, National War Front*

FEW things are certain, but the most cautious prophet would probably subscribe to the view that the year 1943 will be a year of great happenings. It may well turn out to be a miraculous year—a year of deliverance for half the population of the globe. I often wonder, when I read the petulant vapourings of fractious politicians whether they have the slightest conception of what we in India have escaped. Let us examine the lot of the people in this country in relation to that of those countries now over-run by an enemy whose malignancy exceeds that of all the most noted tyrants of history, and whose methods lead one to the conclusion that, if they lived at the present day, the torturers of the Spanish Inquisition would be dismissed as incompetent bunglers.

Any country at war must expect to suffer certain inconveniences, but I should like to place those inconveniences in their proper perspective. Food prices are rising, but we are not starving, as are millions of people in France, Belgium, Poland, Norway and Greece. Such work as we are called upon to do is voluntary. Our men and women are not drafted to work for a ruthless foe under conditions of slavery and semi-starvation. We have no concentration camps—those hell-inspired inventions of the Nazi and Fascist parties, nor do we see children tossed in the air and impaled on the point of the bayonet. In this particular pleasantry, (it is called the New Order for Asia) the Japanese have reverted to the jungle, and if this is one of their forms of gentle relaxation we may perhaps view with mild scepticism their promises to deliver India. As for their 'deliverance ' of other countries which they now occupy temporarily, this is marked by organized sapping of the morale of the inhabitants by the deliberate inculcation of the drug habit.

NOT SENTENCED FOR GRUMBLING

Again, we do not see our crops harvested and despatched to our enemies, as do the inhabitants of Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and (there is a certain poetic justice about this) Italy. We cannot be told by the pot-valiant Goering that Germans must be fed first, and if there is any food left over we can have it. We are not sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for grumbling, as are the people of Berlin—else most of us would be in prison. What would you say if you were sentenced to two years imprisonment for " talking impudently during the packing of parcels "?—this is the latest Berlin antic. We may, if we are so minded, and if we are fond of fiction, listen to the Tokyo radio hissing hatred, or to the hysterical outpourings of the malignant dwarf who is Mr. Schicklgruber's mouthpiece and accomplice. If we were in Berlin or Tokyo and listened to a British or Indian broadcast we would be sent to a concentration camp, or we would die—which would be preferable. Our experience of air raids has hitherto been practically nil—perhaps a couple of dozen bombs in all have been dropped on South Indian soil—a horrid experience for those on the spot I grant you, but we have not had 1,000 air raids in five days (think of it!) as have the people of Malta, and we do not have to spend the greater part of our lives underground, as the Maltese—those brave people—do. Our air raid casualties cannot be numbered by the hundred thousand as in Great Britain, neither are our homes, our places of worship, our historic buildings razed to the ground, as they have been in England.

EGYPT AND INDIA

" It gives me a deep source for happiness to be amongst the brave soldiers from India now serving the cause which is so dear to us all, the cause of liberty. Both you and we are linked by innumerable bonds which have made us brothers. I also remember that both Egypt and India, at the very dawn of history have been the cradle of civilisation and the West owes to both of us the revelation of a higher ideal of life."

—MR. NAHAS PASHA, *the Prime Minister of Egypt, at a party given by Indian soldiers, on December 27.*

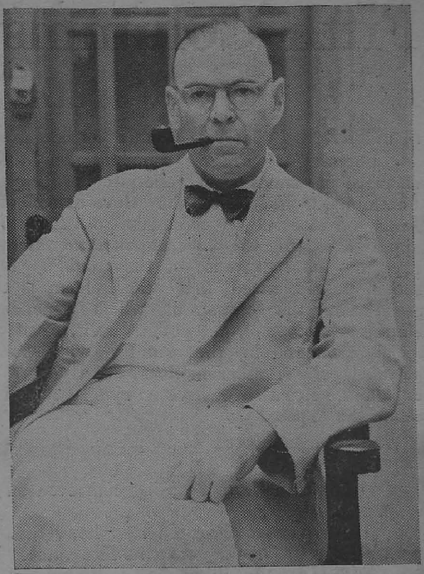
LIVE IN COMPARATIVE COMFORT

And so, while the greater part of the world lives precariously and in varying degrees of misery, we in India live in comparative comfort. Ought not we to do something about it? Great Britain, although herself experiencing the full force of the Axis air arm has done quite a lot for other people, and raucous advocates of a second front (ignoring the fact that there is a second front in Libya, a third in North Africa and a fourth in India) might be interested to learn what Britain and America have done to help Russia. They have despatched during the year which is past one aircraft every 172 minutes, one tank every 128 minutes, one motor vehicle every 17 minutes, one ton of oil or petrol every 4 minutes and one ton of machine tools and metal every 38 seconds. And the Berlin Radio tells us "The Soviets are bitterly disappointed with the failure of Britain and the United States to keep their lavish promises of war material." Really Dr. Goebbels!

And what is the measure of the contribution which we in India are making towards the re-establishment of civilization? It is considerable. The Indian Army has never stood higher in world esteem. The Indian Navy has added cubits to its stature and *H.M.I.S. Bengal* is responsible for one of the epic adventures of the war. Our factories and mills have redoubled their production and our technicians are playing a worthy part. But there is another side to the picture. What, do you think, is the world's opinion of the outbreak of lawlessness, of destruction and murder which we have recently witnessed? How does this organized banditry look against the background of the Allies' help to Russia? Against 3,052 aircraft despatched to Russia, 32 policemen murdered; against 4,084 tanks, 550 post offices attacked; against 30,031 motor vehicles, 70 police stations and 140 other Government buildings burnt; against 118,000 tons of oil, 3,500 instances of wire cutting; against 831,000 tons of metals, damage to Railways and post offices of over a crore of rupees. Here is work after Hitler's own evil heart, and the Tokyo radio pours forth ecstatic congratulations.

WHAT OF 1943?

So much for the past year; what of 1943? Never has there been a year so full of promise; never one in which men of goodwill can play so large a part. Never in the history of war has the role of the civilian been so important. I venture to suggest a few New Year resolutions for members of the National War Front. Let us resolve to remain at our posts in all circumstances, remembering that the chances of our being hit by an enemy bomb are less than those of our being run over in the street. Let us eschew those horrid phrases "wishful thinking" and "scorched earth" with their dangerous implication of defeat. Let us organize resistance to the breakers of the law, and pay the goonda back in his own coin. Let us help to instil "guts" into the faint-hearted, expose the hoarder of food and pillory the scaremonger. By so doing we shall assist in the discomfiture of Mr. Schicklgruber and his slightly shop-soiled accomplices and shall have contributed in some small degree to the victory which is already looming on the horizon.



SIR ROBERT DENNISTON, *Kt.*

A Vital Factor

"From our point of view, restoration of China's lifeline—the Burma Road—is the most immediate vital factor in our fight against Japan."

—COL. CHI WANG, *in an interview to Reuter on December 28.*

Fifth Columnists Again !

Truth About the Coin Shortage

THERE has lately been a considerable amount of Press comment on the shortage of small coin. Despite the Press Communiqué issued by the Government of India on the subject comments continue to appear criticising the Government rather than exposing the root cause of the trouble. It should be recognized that the problem is a social one, the solution of which depends almost entirely on the public itself. Anti-social elements in the country who, for personal gain or other motives, are trying to exploit the situation deserve no sympathy and should be exposed.

What the public can do in present circumstances is :—

(i) Refrain from boarding coin even on a small scale.

(ii) Whatever the need may be, refuse to buy coin for other than its face value.

(iii) Help the authorities to bring the offenders to book. Government desire to prosecute all such offenders, but can only do so with the active assistance and co-operation of the public. Inform the police whenever there is evidence that a person is hoarding coin or selling coin for profit, and if possible encourage and organize others to do the same.

The Government point out that :

All classes in India, especially the poor, are being subjected to inconvenience and loss because there is not enough small coin in circulation for their daily transactions.

Government are doing their share by supplying the public with small coin on a scale never before known in this country; since war began they have manufactured and distributed 180 crores of pieces of new coin and every month 7 crores more are put into circulation.

These huge quantities, as well as all the small coin which was in existence when war broke out, are now in the hands of the people in this country. In spite of this very little is available for the daily needs of the people.

Government have not withdrawn any of this coin. The shortage can therefore only have been caused through private persons hoarding coin in excess of their requirements.

Some hoarders hoard by way of precaution through fear of a still more acute shortage. By so doing they only help to make matters worse and their ill-advised action is unfair to their fellow citizens.

Other hoarders hoard for their own personal profit, either with a view to selling the small coin for notes at a premium or to melt the coin for the sake of the metal of which it is made.

It is an offence against the law to hoard coin in excess of reasonable requirements or to buy or sell coin for other than its face value.

Keeping socks at full stretch

Soldier's socks are expected to last fifty per cent longer as a result of a new process of treating wool now in use by the Indian Army.

When a sock shrinks extra strain is put on hee and toes, with the result that holes soon appear. The new process reduces shrinkage to a minimum.

G.H.Q. Supply Development Committee has found that treatment with a special compound makes woollen garments last half as long again, and three plants have been set up in India to carry out this work.

Christmas Message to R.A.F. Squadrons

The following message was sent by His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, to the Madras R.A.F. Squadrons :—

"The Madras Presidency greets its squadrons who have done so magnificently in the past year, and wishes them continued success in the coming year."

1942: A Bird's-eye View

1st Jan.—British Commandos and Free Norwegian troops raided Lofoten Islands.

2nd Jan.—Twenty-six nations, including Britain, United States, Russia, China, India and the Netherlands, signed a joint declaration against Axis powers.

General Wavell was appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific.

31st Jan.—The British Government concluded an agreement with the Emperor of Ethiopia.

9th Feb.—Marshal Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Delhi.

10th Feb.—The French liner **Normandie** was damaged by fire in New York harbour.

13th Feb.—The Russians re-entered the Soviet Republic of White Russia.

The German warships **Scharnhorst, Gneisenau** and **Prinz Eugen** were bombed in the Straits of Dover.

15th Feb.—Singapore fell.

19th Feb.—Port Darwin was raided for the first time by Japanese aircraft.

The Riom War-guilt trial opened.

24th Feb.—A new Anglo-American Lease-Lend Agreement was announced by President Roosevelt.

3rd Mar.—General Wavell was made Commander-in-Chief of India.

6th Mar.—The Dutch evacuated Batavia.

25th Mar.—The Japanese occupied the Andaman Islands.

28th Mar.—St. Nazaire was raided.

1st Apr.—The first meeting of the Pacific Council was held in Washington.

3rd Apr.—American Flying Fortresses attacked a Japanese invasion fleet in the Bay of Bengal.

5th Apr.—Ceylon had its first air raid.

6th Apr.—Vizagapatam and Cocanada docks were bombed.

7th Apr.—Madras had its first air raid warning.

9th Apr.—Japanese aircraft attacked Trincomalee.

10th Apr.—Fighting in Bataan ceased.

13th Apr.—The Riom trial was suspended.

14th Apr.—Iran broke off relations with Japan.

18th Apr.—Tokyo was bombed by American aircraft.

Surcouf, the world's largest submarine belonging to the Free French, was lost.

M. Laval was made chief of the Vichy Government.

23rd Apr.—M. Laval refused the Japanese sending a military mission to Madagascar.

29th Apr.—Longer working hours for the native population of Java was decreed from to-day (the Japanese Emperor's birthday).

4th May.—Japanese forces entered Mandalay.

6th May.—British troops landed in Madagascar.

7th May.—Corregidor and other Philippine island fortresses were surrendered to the Japanese.

The Burma Road was cut.

9th May.—In the great Coral Sea Battle, the Japanese navy was defeated.

16th May.—Mexico broke off relations with the Axis powers.

17th May.—Prinz Eugen was attacked and damaged.

31st May.—Mexico declared war on the Axis.

7th June.—The Japanese navy was defeated in the Battle of Midway.

11th June.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester arrived in India.

14th June.—The Japanese landed in the Aleutians.

15th June.—President Roosevelt spoke on the Four Freedoms.

21st June.—Tobruk fell into the hands of Rommel.

27th June.—The first of the '1,000-plane raid' by the Royal Air Force was made on Bremen.

2nd July.—Sabastopol fell.

28th July.—Rostov fell into the hands of Nazis.

9th Aug.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee were arrested.

10th Aug.—The Nazis captured Maikop and Korasnador.

18th Aug.—General Alexander succeeded General Auchinleck as Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East.

19th Aug.—Dieppe was raided by British Commandos.

24th Aug.—The Nazis launched a frontal attack on Stalingrad.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was killed on active service.

20th Sep.—Mr. Wendell Willkie visited Moscow.

8th Oct.—Dieppe raid prisoners were chained. Britain ordered reprisals.

5th Nov.—Hostilities ceased in Madagascar.

10th Nov.—American and British troops landed in Tunisia to open a Second Front.

Vichy France broke off relations with United States.

14th Nov.—The Allies retook Tobruk, Sollum and Bardia. Church bells, stilled since Dunkrik, rang throughout Britain to commemorate the victory in the Battle of Egypt.

24th Nov.—H.I.M.S. "Bengal" engaged and sunk an armed Japanese raider in the Indian Ocean.

The siege of Stalingrad was lifted.

27th Nov.—Hitler ordered the extermination of all Jews in occupied Europe by the end of 1942.

28th Nov.—The French fleet at Toulon scuttled itself.

29th Nov.—British troops occupied Reunion Island in the Indian Ocean.

12th Dec.—All prisoners of war in Britain and Canada were unshackled.

15th Dec.—The Battle of El Agheila was won by the Allies.

19th Dec.—Mr. Churchill put the Beveridge Report "on the official map."

20th Dec.—Allied troops moved into Burma. Calcutta was raided for the first time.

24th Dec.—Admiral Darlan was assassinated.

27th Dec.—Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab (who visited the Middle East), died of heart disease.

28th Dec.—General Giraud succeeded Darlan as French Commander-in-Chief in North Africa.

Tea shop—New style

High up in the wild Naga Hills of Assam thirsty drivers in the convoys between base and forward positions are fond of stopping for a rest and a "real" cup of tea at a tea shop which is "different" because it is operated by three B.O.R's.

Empty kerosene tins over a wood fire do duty for urns, but however unorthodox their equipment these British soldiers can produce anything up to 400 cups of tea in next to no time. And all who taste it say it's good.

SAID IN 1927

"Peace! All that is necessary for eternal peace in Western Europe is to civilise Germany and to humanise France!"

—GEOFFREY MOSS in *New Wine.*

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